/126 cont./

433 only on the basis of knowledge about their rites, ceremonial acts, mythology, cultic preparations, or festivals of thanksgiving.
433 This is difficult in view of the great cultural poverty of the Paez,
241 but it is noteworthy that nothing connected with agriculture or
[233] with cattle-raising reveals any kind of cultic relationship.
Neither during sowing nor harvesting was I able to observe or
[224] learn of any kind of typical agricultural rites, whereas in connection with hunting, now economically unimportant, a number of precepts and prohibitions surround the hunter before and after his hunting.

a) Agriculture

243 The chief crop in the Calderun region, as among the Paez
171 generally, is maize, which was at the same time the most im-
114 portant cultivated plant and the basic food of the American peoples from Patagonia to Canada in pre-Colombian times. To this day the discussion about its culture-historical origin has not come to an end. Formerly Central America was regarded as the original land of its cultivation. On ethno- /127/ botanical grounds and plant-geographical investigations, K. Birket-Smith (p. 32) assumes that the original land of maize cultivation is not Central America, but northern South America, since, according to the more recent botanical discoveries, the original form of maize is believed to have been found in the form of the pod corn (Zea mays tunicata) of the Andean countries. Not to be left unmentioned are the voices which most recently have argued for an Asiatic origin of maize, as well as of cotton (Zerries, 1952, pp. 104/5).

If we compare these hypotheses about the origin of maize with the first authenticated reports about its occurrence in America, we find as the oldest date the year 1493, when Columbus had already brought maize to Europe from his first journey across the ocean. As early as 1525 maize was extensively cultivated in the fields of Andalusia (Schweinfurt, pp. 514 f).

/142 cont./

231 There are dogs (álko) in almost every house. They are supposed to protect the chickens from the fox and the house from strange persons. We never met any really vicious dogs, however. They are all very undernourished and cowardly and, in addition, are of a small, short-haired breed. There are no larger dogs, say, [262] of the size of our shepherd dogs. They must hunt for their food, which consists chiefly of the meat of dead horses, since the people do not eat horse meat. Only very rarely are the remains of human meals tossed to them. Cats (mĭs) are rare. Only a few families have one. They serve human beings by keeping the [235] house and storerooms free of mice. Ducks (páto) are likewise very [262] rare; we came across only two each in two houses. They are greatly prized as roasts.

Bees (čĭ'nc) are kept by only a few families. They are smaller than our German honeybees and of a yellowish brown color. There are no special beehives; rather, an old, hollow, but still standing tree-trunk is used. In one case they nested in a house post next to the doorway. Their honey (čĭ'nc mil) is dark brown, [237] like syrup. Beeswax (čĭ'nc) is used to strengthen the agave-fiber string with which broken chicha bowls are repaired and fireworks are made.

/143/ e) Hunting and Fishing

● 224 Neither plays any great role in the economy of the Paez. [433] Moreover, there is no special class of hunters or fishermen. Hunting is practiced only by the men and, for lack of big game, generally extends to smaller mammals, rabbits, monkeys, and to birds. Only in the mountains is it possible to find and to hunt the čái and gwágwa. The former is a kind of deer, so I was told, and the gwágwa a small animal similar to a badger.

The greatest frequency of the hunting trips of a man is about one day a week. Mostly, however, the men go hunting [231] less often. This is done alone with dogs in the vicinity of the [776] houses, whereas a hunting trip in the mountains is generally made by several men, since a man alone is afraid of gĕlyŏmp, the mountain spirit.

/143 cont./

224 mountain spirit. We met only a single young man of about 18 who goes hunting alone in the mountains once a week. He told us that, in order to become a good hunter, one must first try to [789] kill a bear (éswiy). One must then rub its fat into the right [237] lower-arm, which would give him the same powers as the bear. [262] One is not permitted to eat this fat, however, because it would [828] make him insane. After rubbing in the fat, the young hunter [263] continued, one may not eat salt at any meal for a week. There are no further rules and ceremonies of any kind to be observed. [237] We learned, however, that one can also use bear fat as a heal- [752] [757] ing remedy, and, to be sure, for bone fractures or sprains one must rub the affected part with bear fat, whereupon the injured limb will heal immediately and will become considerably 224 stronger than ever before. For stalking he wears on his head a 292 cap made of the skin of a reddish-blond hairy monkey (móno), [825] which in the first place protects him from the thorns of the bushes, but which is also supposed to facilitate creeping up on [439] game. He sold it to us for two pesos without hesitation, since, [126] as he said, he was perfectly capable of shooting another monkey 224 for himself. He was not afraid of the gĕlyómp spirit, but the 776 other men were, for gĕlyómp screams and makes a noise when human beings enter his area in the mountains, so that they become quite confused and go astray. The mountain spirit cannot do anything to several men together, however, since he could make as much noise as he pleased, but they would not let them- 224 selves be diverted. Of course, the men, even if there are ever so 776 many of them, must not offend the mountain spirit or provoke 515 him unnecessarily, but rather must avoid everything that gĕlyómp 783 does not like. /144/ For instance, he hates everything impure [296] and filthy. Hence the men always only go hunting well washed; [824] they even wash the entire body, and the ruana, too. In addition, they rub themselves with the cleansing herbs šu and žáyuts, which they obtain from the shaman, in order to be really altogether [761] clean in a physical and ritual sense. But if someone has taken part in a burial or has merely seen a funeral procession close by, he has picked up a good deal of "pest" from the dead and must have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting.

/144 cont./

have himself specially purified by the shaman before hunting. In case the wife of a hunter happens to be menstruating at the very time of the hunt, however, purification is of no avail; the hunter is too "dirty" and must stay at home, so as not to provoke the wrath of the gĕlyŏmp and thus bring misfortune on the entire hunting party.

The latter generally consists of six men with 12 dogs, without there being any regular battues, however. The hunters are equipped with shotguns, whose smooth barrels, with a caliber of about 15 millimeters, consist of strong sheet-iron. Fine sand is used as shot; powder is purchased and ignited with a spark from the flintlock.

There are no closed seasons for animals; nor is gĕlyŏmp angry, say, because too much game might be hunted, for "this does not happen, since there is not that much." After hunting, however, the hunter fastens the tail feathers of the birds killed to the inner side of the roof of his house and the cleanly gnawed skulls of the four-footed animals killed to its center post or center gable-post, both so as to be successful again the next time in hunting the same game. I found tail feathers of birds under the roof covering of almost every house, and frequently also three, five, or ten monkey or rabbit skulls fastened directly to the house post or strung one above the other on a string. Only once did I find, on the gable post of a small field-hut, at a man's height, below a monkey skull, a very crudely incised human figure with an oval face and six hairs standing straight up on the head (Ill. 200 /see p. 288/). The eyes are represented by circles, the nose by a long rectangle, and the mouth by a triangle. The body is rectangular. Two semicircular lines are incised on the sides of the body. The arms start at these semicircles as two bent lines and stick out somewhat; the legs are represented in a similar way; a triangle between them is probably supposed to indicate the genitals. A Christian cross is carved on the side of the post. I was told that the human figure represents the "devil," /145/ but had nothing to do with hunting. This explanation is, of course, unsatisfactory, but I was unable to find any similar

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532 776 carving anywhere else or obtain an explanation anywhere (*).

* Possibly this is supposed to represent "Thunder," who, as the most important mythical figure and also as the shamans' assistant spirit, is described as a small man with the shaman staff and a triangle as a musical instrument, who displays his sexual parts.

223 Bird-hunting for the pigeon-sized tom birds is carried on by almost all Paez families with the net (ðka), as well as with the shotgun. The net is about five meters high and 20 meters wide. For this purpose a correspondingly wide breach is cut in the growth of trees or bushes on a hill or the ridge of a mountain chain, and the net fastened in the opening produced. The flushed birds, who think that there is a convenient passage at this place, fly into the net, get caught in it, and are then killed by the [237] capturers, who twist their heads. Another type of bird-catching consists of fastening a noose made of horsehair (nyákiwez; nyák = to set up, wez = string) to the twig of a tree or shrub in such a [857] way that the noose rests in a bird's nest. When the bird returns to its nest, the noose becomes entangled in its foot, and the boy -- for it is mostly boys who engage in this task of noose-setting -- ● 224 is able to seize the bird. Rabbits are caught in the same way with nooses, but made of agave fibers, by laying the nooses where they pass.

226 Fishing is done with hook and line at the river or with [283] poison in weirs. The fishing line (wendyánsyuts) consists of twined agave string to which are tied a metal hook and a stone as a sinker. A small worm is fastened to the hook as bait. [462] Angling is done only by men, and at twilight or at night.

226 824 171 Fishing with poisonous plants is a cultural characteristic of almost all South American Indians. For this purpose a total of more than 100 species of poisonous plants are used by them, which means that this part of the world leads all the continents in this respect (Heizer, p. 277). Among the Paez, fishing with

/314 cont./

105 241 [412] with sowing and harvesting otherwise characteristic of peoples who plant. It is not improbable that they practiced this field cultivation as they describe it for the Pijao. In the story /315/ of the Paez with the ax (No. 16) it is said that the Pijao were not familiar with tools in former times and, accordingly, could not fell trees to lay out a proper burned-off field. In order to obtain fields for their sowing, they were obliged to split the bark of trees with stones. After these were dried, they sowed their maize between the dead trunks.

105 [224] In connection with hunting, economically insignificant today, the hunter is surrounded by a number of prohibitions such as we find everywhere among hunting peoples throughout the world.

[226] Fishing is carried on with poisonous plants at weirs. It took place as a joint fishing expedition of the entire village in the February dry season when the water was at its lowest level of the year. This large annual fishing expedition was called enzte. The time

[233] [556] [23] period of one year was also designated with the same word. Raising large livestock is almost purely a sport or a matter of appearance and wealth. Horses are not used; cattle are slaughtered only for the three large annual Christian festivals (Semana Santa, San Juán, Immaculada).

[773] [441] Among weapons, only the shotgun for hunting is of significance today. The pellet blowgun and the stone-sling are used as toys. In the mythology the latter plays an important part as a decisive weapon in war.

In the handcraft techniques of plaiting and weaving, the use of agave fiber and sheep wool predominates, generally in the form of spun and twisted threads. The carrying bags of agave fiber and the wool coca bags are made by the loop technique; the hammocks, bird nets, berry sieves, and stone-slings by the knot technique. Only straw hats are plaited. The bands of the fiber bags are woven out of agave fibers; the women's belts and the articles of clothing of men and women, out of sheep wool. The weaving method is simple rod-weaving with the linen texture. The women's belts have an ornamental warp formed during the weaving process. The weaving frame is vertical, of the so-called

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105 601 The kinship nomenclature shows remnants of a "classificatory" system, into which the individual is fitted as part of a living structure and does not stand out in profile, detached within the family. Persons are differentiated in address according to certain circumstances of age and life, and, among others, siblings are differentiated in address, according to whether they are younger or older than the speaker.

105 53 [177] In art and mythology a considerable impoverishment has taken place. There is neither song nor any peculiar dance. The music of transverse flutes and drums, performed with great enthusiasm, is to be stressed. The cylindrical drum with skin stretched on two sides, which is used at the present time by the Paez, is in all parts of America a loan from the Negroes. In earlier times hanging, hollowed-out tree-trunks were used for the dance and for conveying information, such as /317/ are used today as troughs for making chicha. The rattles formerly present are no longer used today. The transverse flutes with six blowholes used by the Paez are post-Columbian; at any rate they are not found in this form either archeologically or recently among uninfluenced Indians. The only transverse flute form known from pre-Spanish and modern times are flutes that are stopped at both ends and provided with two blowholes (Izikowitz, pp. 298 ff.).

105 773 776 In the fund of tales no comprehensive picture of the world emerges. The chief figure in the myths is Thunder, who appears as the first shaman and as a war leader. He is not, however, an exalted, numinous figure, but rather to some extent has characteristics attributed to forest spirits in other parts of South America. [784] [224] There is also a special forest spirit (gĕlyómp) among the Paez. He has the figure of an old man with large, exposed sexual parts, and his stings inflicted as punishment for ritual uncleanness in connection with hunting cause the human being sickness and pain. He does not, however, appear mythologically. Fragments of larger myth-complexes are the story of the woman from whose body useful plants arise, the story about the ghostly human head that comes rolling along, stories about transformed animals and human beings, and stories about werejaguars.

1: Nachtigall--288 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 200. Skull trophy and figure of a spirit.

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Ill. 199. The shaman Felisia Ipia with her shaman's staff.

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262 [252] The chachafruto (ûsual), a leguminous plant that bears rather sweet fruits which are eaten merely boiled in water, readily grows in the stubble and thickets; this is a favorite food of children. It bears fruit during the months of August and September. They also gather mushrooms (kalaguai), orejas de palo /literally, ears of wood/ (kallumbo) that grow round and white on rotting trunks, frîjol /327/ cacha (us tape) that abounds in thickets, moras (sutsion) and the ground cherries (chimbû) that grow in profusion in the maize fields and with which they make cakes or tamales and mush /mazamorra/ mixed with ground maize. Likewise, they gather wild granadillas (shlal).

224 [411] [789] Hunting is of minor importance among the Páez. Shotguns and dogs are needed. Authentic lovers of hunting are few, and there are no magical rites or ceremonies connected with it.

Hunting is most frequently done to protect the plantings or the herds. We have seen that the enemies of maize are coatis, guaras, squirrels, and birds. The chickens are attacked by wolf-dogs. On the savannas of the Paramo de Moras bears are the most common enemies of the herds.

[237] In Calderas, the hunters customarily keep the skulls of the captured booty inside the house, on one of the wall posts. In one of them we counted five coati skulls, two from guaras, and one from a wolf. Hunting is done on Sundays and at any time of the year. They go to selected locations with dogs, shotguns, and provisions. The dog raises the game and the men wait in strategic spots, with their shotguns ready to shoot it. If the shot misses, they set out after the game on a fast run. When they hunt deer, they have a minga. For the hunting of guaras they use traps consisting of nets which they place at the exit of the haunts of these animals. Bats are hunted with bags. As soon as they fall, they [262] are kicked to death, for these animals easily break out of bags. [252] They are eaten roasted. Armadillo meat is rather favored. 223 Sparrow hawks are hunted with blowguns. "The Indians are poor" [411] -- says an informant from Calderas -- "and for this reason they make blowguns and hunt birds. God made the birds so that the poor would eat them and not steal." Wild pigeons are hunted on the ridges by means of traps that are well concealed. Chamones,

Chamones

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223 black birds, are not eaten because they are probably animals of
825 the devil. It is said that in times past the Calderas Indians ate
262 beetles, the reason that they are nicknamed tandayaha (one who
[578] eats beetles), an epithet which they regard as offensive and which nearly always irritates them. The Calderunos say that they do not
[224] eat worms or the meat of rabbits and snakes. They regard as game
[223] animals the guara, deer, coati, armadillo, bat, and various species of birds.

224 Concerning bear hunting, the people of Mosoco relate /328/ real feats performed by Indians in open fights with the ani-
[237] mals. Bear fat is highly esteemed among the natives and "whites."

226 Fishing is less important than hunting. The rivers and streams contain sardines and coruntas /small river-fish/. During Holy Week and at Christmas they engage in fishing, when the
[462] water is low, by means of barbasco, nets, and hooks. This is strictly a masculine activity. In the Paez River they fish during the months of January and February and generally in months of drought.

They also gather crabs.

Laurel wax industry

388 Laurel, introduced by a man from Popayan /el payanés/,
824 Agustín Valencia, has played an important role in the economy of some parcialidades of Tierradentro. It grows wild in Calderas, Tumbichukue, Lame, San Andrés, Chinas, and Suin. The production of wax was the only industry in these parcialidades that permitted them to maintain regular trade with the "whites."

388 A mestizo trader from Mosoco says that he was a great ex-
43 porter of laurel wax. "It was the native industry" -- he says -- by means of which salt, trousers, shirts, hats, and centavos came in." In this business, he states, he made one arroba of profit per load. The pound was quoted at a peso in Silvia. The informant says that in the years 1946 and 1947 he took out from 800 to 1,000 arrobas of wax. He almost had a monopoly on the business. What little wax escaped him was purchased by traders from Belalcázar, who in turn took it by way of Mosoco to Silvia. The chief consumers of this product were the soap factories of Cali. The laurel wax industry waned in 1950, when those factories